/27 cont'd/
here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets, boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist. —Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/28 cont'd/

designs are completed the cloth is dyed. This is a very difficult craft; if it is not skillfully done, the wax design may be broken. Thus skill and concentration are the two requirements of this craft. After the dyeing is completed, they wash the cloth with clean water, and after this set it out in a sun-drenched open area to dry, in order to remove the wax. When the wax is completely cleaned away, the process is completed." (See the Chinese translation of Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Miao People/, p. 267.)

Miao women still use bags made of hemp fiber. When they go out, they carry them on their backs; all their miscellaneous possessions are packed in them. They resemble the Cantonese women who carry babies on their backs.

7. Trade

Because their productivity is slight and their products are very similar, there is almost no trade, not even barter, among the Miao themselves. Though they carry on some trade with the Li, their commercial relations have not gone beyond the barter stage, such as the exchange of bamboo products for rice mentioned above. Truly complex trade is only carried on with the Chinese, and it is only a start. This is of several types. First, there are the Chinese peddlers who bring goods to sell in the Miao villages and, at the same time, buy the local products from the Miao. Second, the Miao occasionally /29/ go to the Li markets to do business with the Chinese merchants. In the capital of Pao-t'ing district and in the Wen-hua market of Ta-ch'i under the jurisdiction of the district, one frequently sees traces of the Miao people of the vicinity. Third, they go to more distant Chinese markets to buy and sell. But this is done at no set times; only when they lack some necessity do they go. The Miao live deep in the mountains; these Chinese markets are all equally distant. A few are several tens of li away but many are a hundred li away. Since the Miao all live a simple life in which few things are really needed, the occasions when they come out to a Chinese market to trade are rare, once or twice a month at the most.

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439 436 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is [71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary 439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable. 313 554 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 594 596 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with both large families and small families existing at the same time. A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

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H 181 273 276 [148] and smoking are very popular habits among the Li. Parents do not even forbid their children to indulge in them. Taking advantage of this Li habit, the Chinese merchants make money by encouraging them to go on sprees. Consequently, many Li become bankrupt. (For further reference, see Chapter V of Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.) Since they need not worry about making a living, the Li are lazy as compared with the Miao. The Miao want more land to cultivate but do not have mountain slopes that they can plant. The Li, on the contrary, do not want to work while they have lots of land. This is a sharp contrast between the two peoples. In personality the Li are masterful, savage and cruel, and hot-tempered. On the one hand, this might be due to the influence of smoking and drinking; on the other hand, there is also the historical factor. In the past 2,000 years, Li uprisings were very frequent. The governments of successive dynasties constantly tried to reduce them to submission by force. However, they have never really been subdued. No dynasty has ever really had them under complete control. Hence they still retain the fighting nature of a primitive people. However, some aspects of their nature are also praiseworthy. They are very frank and straightforward. These characteristics show up especially clearly when they are compared with the Miao.

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H M 648 439 The preceding has been a discussion of the conflicts in the relationships of the three peoples. Now let us discuss the harmonious aspects.

Relations between ethnic groups are based upon mutual demands. Therefore days of peace are more frequent than days of dissension, and harmonious relations are more evident than those of conflict. The harmonious relations between the Chinese, Li, and Miao are very evident and easily seen and are based upon their economic transactions. In these harmonious relations, an important role is played by the Chinese merchants. They have created an unbreakable

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economic tie between the Chinese and the Li, and the Chinese and the Miao. I have discussed this aspect in detail in my other books. (For commercial relations between the Chinese and the Li, see Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, chapters 4 and 5; concerning commercial relations between the Chinese and the Miao see chapter 3 of this book.) The commercial relationship between the Miao and the Li is not very important, yet it does exist. The barter trade by which the Miao exchange their bamboo products with the Li for rice is an example.

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In the wake of economic penetration, cultural blending is brought about. It is needless to say that Chinese culture is in the leading position. The most obvious aspect is that the Chinese language is very popular among both the Li and the Miao. Language is the principal medium for the exchange of opinion. It is indispensable in trade. Hence both the Li and the Miao have learned to speak the Hainan dialect of the Chinese language. Similarly, the Li and the Miao have learned each other's languages. Moreover, in order to take part in the complicated intercourse with the Chinese, the Li and the Miao both are anxious to accept Chinese culture, and the simplest way is to learn the Chinese written language. A long time ago, both the Li and the Miao established schools /124/ and invited the Chinese to teach there. Besides these, all their customs — clothing, manner of eating, housing, wedding and funeral services, etc., are greatly Sinicized. This is particularly true of the customs of the Li, because they have had more and frequent contacts with the Chinese than the Miao. This cultural influence between ethnic groups can be found anywhere one cares to investigate. There is less to be said about cultural influence between the Li and the Miao because they themselves have become two tributaries of the large stream of Sinicization.

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We should also frankly admit that many other complex problems exist among these three groups. For the future of Hainan or even the future of the Chinese, these problems must be satisfactorily solved.

2:Ling & Ruey--80 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MIAO

114 To study the economic life of any ethnic group it is necessary to study first its geographical environment, because the economic activities of mankind are greatly influenced by geographical conditions. Although man can conquer nature, it is only done within certain limits. In the previous chapter we have outlined the geography of the Miao area and have come to understand their natural environment. We are now prepared to proceed further to the description of their economic life. In this connection, however, a point has to be made
114 clear. That is, the Chinese and the Miao have lived side by
177 side for a long time, and although there is a boundary line
[439] separating them, the two groups, now at war, now at peace, have traded constantly and maintained very frequent contacts. Because of this, it goes without saying that the material culture of the Miao in western Hunan today has been largely influenced by the Chinese. What is discussed in this chapter is actually also the human geography of the Miao area. With reference to its economic aspect, because the Miao and the Chinese have lived together for so long, their economic activities at present are quite similar. It is difficult to determine what is characteristically Miao and what is not. Our discussion, however, will center as much as possible on the Miao people.

241 Agriculture. — Before we went into the Miao area we
[114] had read the account of agriculture in the Miao area in Feng-huang T'ing Chih: /Gazetteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/: "They fell the undergrowth and burn it. When the fire is extinguished, they begin cultivation. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation. After three or four years of planting, the land is abandoned and cultivation commences elsewhere, because the old field is no longer fertile." We had thought that the Miao were still at the primitive stage of

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245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly. The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree, winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land
243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung
245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth. Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees
245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year; and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done
[805] in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar
[182] term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the
[412] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the
[258] outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the
[139] seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are
[252] burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p95]

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245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

[262] [443] [439] [258]

258 [439] Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

[412] [415] [241] [388] [226]

314 [249] Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

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245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp 248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching [262] [231] [439] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the enbankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo [227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair. [171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi- [825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces [227] of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/69 cont./

226 [227] from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and down stream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The [278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 [492] [262] [241] The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs, chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important. Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese [439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on P. 103]

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

[285] The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

285 Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
463 though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
[326] smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[335] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft is only a side line and that is all.

439 Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade. Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water

252 [text continues on p. 106]

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Illus. 40. Hsin-chai Market, Feng-huang.

252 into damp meal, pressing it against the edges of a pan, and baking it into a crust /pa-pa/; or grinding it into dry meal and cooking it with rice. There are two kinds of glutinous kaoliang, chan and no. The chan kaoliang is cooked mixed [273] with rice or made into pa-pa. It is also used to make wine. The no kaoliang is not produced in great quantity each year, and is largely used for making wine. There are also these two kinds of rice. There are few inundated rice fields in the Miao area, hence the output of rice is not large. It is large- [439] ly sold to the Chinese, and the Miao themselves consume [262] only a comparatively small quantity. Sweet potatoes are steamed, or shredded first and cooked with rice. Kidney beans are also cooked /75/ with rice.

262 Vegetables include greens /ch'ing ts'ai/, Chinese cabbage /pai ts'ai/, and carrots, turnips /lo-po/, etc. Wild vegetables include bracken, no-mi tsai, wild celery, and wild onions. Meat include beef, pork, chicken, and fish. The things the Miao eat have caused people to note their fondness for eating sour vegetables. We found that they have sour fish, beef, pork, pepper seeds, garlic, leeks, carrots, turnips, etc., greens, taro, Chinese cabbage, bean or pea

/89 cont./

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Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
301 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
175 Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/
[178] was very different from that today.

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
[683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[434] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
[177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
no results. The following notes are some material obtained
through interrogation.

Ku is called [ʔɔ˧˥ʔi˧] in the Miao language, and a ku woman is called [mp'ɑ˧˥ʂi˧]. Most of the ku women are loved by their husbands, /200/ which is called /t'io˧˥ ʂi˧/, meaning seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

they wore a long, woven belt of straw and over the blouse an overpiece of straw. Their abundant hair was made into a large knot in the back. Around it and the head they wound a dark blue cloth turban. These were the charcoal burners. The women of another group who called themselves Lao Hei Miao wore long trousers, two aprons similar to those of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with no embroidering on the front one, a blouse worn surplice, an overpiece of the same type as that of the Cowrie Shell Miao women, but with much coarser stitches, no color, and no cowries, and a turban of a length of blue cloth wound around the head. 443 291

Kou-ch'ang and Hsin-ch'ang, the market village a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un, were typical market villages with the one main street widening out in the center to form a square. The main shops of the village lined the sides of this square. On market days itinerant merchants set up their stalls under awnings and local people and tribesmen spread their produce on mats on the ground.

The Cowrie Shell Miao took to market grain (rice, wheat, glutinous rice, millet), wood in various forms (planks, bamboo poles, firewood, poles, brushwood), fresh vegetables from gardens and fields, bamboo shoots, water chestnuts, sunflower seeds, nuts, rape seed, dried peas and beans, eggs, poultry, pigs and pork, grass raincapes, straw for sandals, and chaff. In the markets they bought cloth, thread — cotton and silk — salt, sugar, and such things as tobacco, red chillies, and fat pork for rendering out lard if their own supply had run low. The Chung-chia in the vicinity made wide white cloth, dried bean curd cakes, and straw sandals. The local Chinese (i.e., from Ting-shui-pa) sold straw sandals, tea, and hemp. The Cowrie Shell Miao made hemp cloth only for special uses of their own and straw sandals only for their own use. They had no extra hemp to sell, but did take to market sheaves of glutinous rice straw. 443 439

There were no shops whatever in the village. Now and then a peddlar of crockery, vegetable oil, charcoal, or notions came through the village. The transaction then was usually one of barter, the women paying in rice and eggs. At other times Chinese money and measurements were used. The silver orna-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

443 439 ments worn by the women were bought of a Chinese silversmith in a certain village and had to be paid for in silver dollars. Beads and embroidered strips were also bought of the Chinese.

428 Inheritance. The family was the social unit. Descent was through males and the oldest living male was the head of the family. Non-personal property belonged to the family as a whole and even clothing and ornaments might be passed around, especially when one or more represented the family on some social occasion. Then, in order to do honor to the family and to their hosts, they made a display of the family wealth. A woman owned the

[42a]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan têng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.

[412] [373]

[5 cont.] One difference[1] is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly
[439] home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

[1] [from the Chinese.-Analyst]

[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
●439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
294 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
868 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
273 mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

317 The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
439 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
326 of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
[411] make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

226 The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
262 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

/192 cont./

787 general omens and those of the oracle. The oracle with the pair of chickens is used not only in connection with the birth of a child, but also on other occasions, and it has the advantage that from the combination of its omens one can see not only the good and the bad aspects, but also to what extent human beings will be able to intervene and avert evil.

The greatest importance is ascribed to oracles. The belief in the reliability of omens and oracles is so /193/ extensive that the Meau literally do not undertake anything without consulting the spirits and immediately give up any plan in case of an unfavorable answer. When I asked a female shaman to draw something [125] for me on the sheet of paper that I provided for my psychological investigations, she laid out an oracle to learn from her teacher-spirit whether and what she should draw! Only then did she take my sheet of paper and draw.

●439 787 Once every year some Chinese traders (see the chapter, "Trade") visit the remote and widely scattered Meau villages in order to do business by selling goods that they bring along and by buying various products of the Meau. On these occasions it not infrequently happens that all the trouble and expense on the part of the traders has been in vain, even though the Meau for their part would have been happy to do business with them. Before any [437] trading, however, the oracle is invariably consulted, for no Meau is going to sell pigs or opium or buy silver without first consulting the spirits. If the oracle predicts an unfavorable outcome, the Chinese trader has no choice but to leave the village without having transacted any business; his long and arduous journey with porters was in vain, for he can do nothing to induce the Meau to change their minds.

123 224 [787] Even I had to submit to the verdict of the oracle, if I could not find a convincing way out. For example, Chief Tsin Tsai, whose son Lü had regained his health through my plasmochin-atabrine treatment after the conjuration, had put me under his special protection out of gratitude. Tsin Tsai was an excellent and passionate hunter. When I noticed that he was annoyed by our constant questioning or our requests for food, I proposed to [326] him, the best gunsmith for miles around, by the way, that we

/207 cont./

782 231 sacrificial animal among the Meau in China. Whether the slaughtering of buffalo in connection with weddings and mourning mentioned in the old Chinese literature, according to Eberhard (4), was done as a sacrifice or only for provisions for

4. II, p. 252.

the guests is not revealed from the description.

782 Burnt offerings play an important role. Among them are the burning of incense candles and the burning of the fat-lamp (Fig. 51) on the altar during the sacrificial act and conjurations, at which, however, there is at the same time the practical and previously mentioned thought that the spirits, like human beings, need light in order to see. Wax candles are sometimes lighted instead of the fat-lamp. Also of significance among the Meau [778] is the burning of spirit-money and sacral paper upon which, as already described, blood of the sacrificial animals is dripped. Before slaughtering an animal, the animal is purchased from the spirits by burning under its snout spirit-money of the value of the animal (Ill. 103).[1] Gold paper, which the Meau do not [439] make themselves, but buy from the Lao, is also sacrificed to the high Father-Mother spirit. Since it is difficult to burn, it is folded into small cones before being set afire. Such a tiny [435] shako of gold paper has the spirit-value of 25 silver pieces.

/208/ Any other kind of sacrifice to the ancestors and good spirits is unknown. When sacrifices are made to evil spirits, however, an uneven number of offerings are scattered in all four directions and the evil spirits are requested not to torment people; they are giving them what they have, but they are poor.

243 782 As soon as the first rice has been cut, a small sacrificial hut is erected on the rice field, and a sacrifice, which consists of a thousand ticals in spirit-money, salt, alcohol, and some rice, is offered to the good spirit that dwells in the rice field. All this is placed in the small hut for the spirit.

[1] [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M 278 /238 cont./ to the description, which are tapped by means of four diagonal cuts placed opposite to one another, similar to the procedure for obtaining India rubber. The sap flowing out hardens in the air into a viscous rubber-like mass, which is collected. Now the same weight of water is added, and the sap is cooked with constant stirring, over an open fire. The substance thus obtained M [415] is poured into bamboo flasks which are sealed airtight. After cooling off, the mass becomes solid again. Before use it is warmed slightly and thereby again becomes liquid. Then one adds tobacco juice and ground pepper and dips in the arrows, dries the adhered portion over the fire, and repeats this procedure until the arrow points are thickly covered with the now black poisonous mass.

If well sealed in tubes, the poison keeps for years; applied to the arrow and kept over the hearth, as is customary, so that the smoke prevents the growth of putrefying bacteria, it remains effective for about a year.

A M 278 752 As an antidote the Meau and, probably in imitation of them, the Akha use cooking salt, which is rubbed into the wound with good results. Moreover, the wounded person is given large quantities of tea to drink and is made to sweat.

A 752 [177] [757] The Akha who, as was already mentioned, depend almost entirely on the neighboring peoples in their medications, are also far behind the Meau in the treatment of wounds or bone fractures. To be sure, they know how to set fractured bones in an emergency, but they cannot perform any kind of operation.

A 278 439 M •439 The Akha in Thailand do not even make their arrow poison; instead, they buy it from their neighbors, chiefly from the Meau.

/250 cont./

683 754 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is practiced among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Outlawing is likewise unknown.

692 622 634 [689] Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates.

674 114 Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the [454] Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them, much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only [634]

2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

685 439 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.

/275 cont./

342 184 in turn rests on the ridge posts (Fig. 76, B). The layers of palm leaves prepared like shingles are tied very compactly to the roof truss, so that the roof is extremely durable and impermeable. Whereas I could find only this one kind of roof among the Meau in Thailand, Credner (2) reports on houses that are covered with

2. II, p. 169.

rice straw and shingles. Lajonquière (3), too, speaks of straw

3. II, p. 305.

and shingle roofs and such made of beaten bamboo. The latter, however, seems scarcely comprehensible to me, since this material is not at all pliable and therefore cannot be waterproof. This must have been merely a makeshift. The description by Abadie (4) is even stranger: "The roof truss is made of rough

4. Page 156.

wooden sticks and bears a double roof, which in general is covered with straw, rarely with tiles. The edge of the roof projects far beyond the wall in order to protect it better against rain."

[439] By double roof probably the storage loft is meant, and the tiles can only be purchased material, possibly from the Chinese.

342 The construction of the two entrance doors is shown in Figs. 72-74. It should be noted in this connection that the door, Fig. 73, of house No. 7 is made of wooden boards, swings in a depression in the threshold, and is placed at the main entrance, whereas Fig. 74 is on the /276/ /Figs. 72-74 appear here/ north side of the chief's house and is plaited out of split bamboo sticks.

[778] [789] [411] [283] [53] Above the main entrance door there always hangs one or several swords carved out of wood, which are supposed to prevent evil spirits from entering the house. They are tied fast with fiber cord and usually decorated with a simple black line-pattern (see the chapter, "Religion," Figs. 53 and 54).

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/297 cont./

5. The Smithies.

A 348 171 The smithies will not be described separately here, since they are very similar to the smithies of the Meau (see Figs. 85 and 86). It is true that a smith sometimes prefers to set up his workshop under the sharply projecting roof of his dwelling (Ill. 34).[1] The forging tools (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 412-417) show a great similarity in many ways to those of the Meau.

A 325 171

6. The Rice-field Huts.

A 243 342 The Akha, too, erect small huts in their fields, which usually, however, serve them for only one or two days for spending the night and never for a longer stay. Accordingly, they are flimsily built of bamboo and have only one or two side walls, sometimes none at all. A small fireplace is all that serves for comfort. Like the rice-field huts of the Meau, they, too, are happily sought out by pairs of lovers.

A [836]

/298/ Chapter 14

House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils

M 128 352 [438] [439] More care than is given to the building of the houses is devoted by the Meau to the manufacture of the household equipment, which is extremely varied and which is made almost entirely by them. Where this is not the case, as, for example, in the case of various iron and earthenware goods which they buy from itinerant Haw traders (see the chapter, "Trade"), this is specifically mentioned. Although the equipment enumerated here cannot include everything, nevertheless all that we saw has been recorded and sketched with extreme accuracy. The photographs will perhaps add to our account of the material culture.

1 [see cat 116, p252- ANALYST]

/298 cont./

342 352 Corresponding to the division of a Meau house into a cooking and living room, to sleeping and storage rooms, the equipment is also adapted to these purposes. (Abadie (1) and

1. Page 157.

Maspero describe the equipment of the house essentially in agreement with my observations.)

513 [342] The sleeping rooms are enclosed by high boards loosely joined together. The doorless entrance to the sleeping room is usually hidden from view from the living room by a second wall. The place for lying down takes up the whole bedroom; [352] thus, the bed (Fig. 115) is the size of the enclosed space (Fig. 116). It consists of wooden posts driven into the ground, upon which the frame of wooden or bamboo sticks is tied. A large plaited sleeping mat is spread out on it. On the bed lie old clothes, rags, and blankets, which, rolled up, also serve as pillows, since these are not made separately. Small shelves [353] are usually put on the wall above the bed, on which pipes, tobacco, combs, and other personal "treasures" lie about. All kinds of stuff are put under the bed, especially baskets with clothing, cloth, and personal belongings.

/299/ Aside from these relatively large sleeping places and beds, it also happens frequently that numbers of the family, especially half-grown children, merely sleep on the floor on an outspread mat and covered with blankets. These blankets are like our quilts: a filling of a kapok-like material or cotton is covered with a self-woven fabric. /Figs. 115-116 appear here./ [439] Everywhere, however, one also finds blankets purchased from [574] the Chinese. The sleeping place for guests is a mat-covered platform about 50 centimeters high.

342 513 Whereas Savina (1) describes the arrangements of the

1. II, p. 190.

house and the sleeping rooms along the lines of my survey, Lajonquière (2) writes: "In the interior there is often no

2. II, p. 306.

/301 cont./ one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep it going until morning."

The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear here./ Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill. 96) is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here./

Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in

[see cat. 116, p645 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--419 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/307 cont./

256 axle which connects the two millstones to each other, it is possible merely to husk the kernels, to grind them up, or to mill them into a coarser or finer flour.

415 As cooking utensils, iron kettles (Ill. 106) and pans are used, all of which are bought from Chinese traders and rep-
●439 resent marketable trade items. Lajonquière (1) gives the

1. II, p. 303.

same description. Tea kettles of iron or brass are also present in all sizes, as are little porcelain bowls and plates of Chinese design, which come from the same source. /Figs. 143-147 appear here./

415 /308/ In addition to bone chopsticks and the Chinese
412 dishes, homemade wooden plates and wooden ladles, as well as wooden or bamboo dippers are used (Fig. 143-146). To be
515 mentioned here also are the toothpicks, or rather toothbrushes, which are used every day and which are nothing but small wooden sticks frayed out at the top (Fig. 147).

415 The large iron pot (Fig. 148) in which meat or vegetables
252 are cooked is always standing on the hearth. Rice, however, is /Figs. 148-155 appear here/ /309/ cooked in a brass pot used for only this purpose, which usually has the shape shown in the drawing (Fig. 150). To dip out the cooked rice,
[251] strainers (Fig. 151) are used; to store it, special rice-pots of wood (Fig. 152). Moreover, for steaming, wooden vessels are used (Figs. 153-155), whose manner of utilization is described in the chapter, "Food and Stimulants. Other cooking
412 utensils (Fig. 156-174) of the Meau are: wooden forks, wooden
415 blocks for chopping meat, wooden troughs, wooden mallets
252 carved out of forked branches for pounding dough, wooden cutting boards, various knives, peculiar wooden vessels with a carrying handle for scooping up pig fodder, variously shaped
[273] gourd dippers and gourd bottles, strainers, graters, scrapers to remove the maize kernels from the ears, vessels for distilling

1 [See cat 116, P706- ANALYST]

[Text continues on P421]

/319 cont./ are about 37 centimeters wide, corresponding to the width of the weaving board. They are colored dark blue in the dye-trough found in every house (see the chapter, "Handicrafts"). The homemade, sturdy, and resistant material is often replaced, especially for the making of holiday attire, by dark-blue cotton cretonne, which is purchased from the Chinese traders, but does not have for long the durability of the home-produced hemp cloth. The sewing equipment, such as thread, needles, embroidery silk, red and other colored cretonne, always comes from the Chinese trader. In addition to the work clothes, which are worn for years, every prosperous Meau has a holiday outfit, which, however, differs from this only in the elaborateness of the embroidery among the women and in the number of silver buttons among the men, as well as sometimes in the material. The clothing of children is exactly like that of the adults.

The women's clothing of the Meau (Ills. 60 and 61, as well as 69 and 70, and furthermore Colored Plate II)[1] consists of the blouse, skirt, apron, turban, and leggings. The blouse is made of dark-blue material (Colored Plate II, Nos. 4 and 6), has long narrow sleeves, and is open in front. The two parts are pulled over one another in front and are tied at the waist. The low neck, which permits the beginning of the breasts to be seen, is trimmed with strips of material of various colors. Similar strips of material border the back part of the blouse, which hangs down loosely. A slit separates it /320/ from the front part. The most striking feature of the blouse is the typical sailor collar (Ill. 66),[2] which has the shape of a rectangle. In the case of children and older women this collar is usually plain dark blue, like the blouse itself. Young girls and women, on the other hand, wear it with so many small cloth patches sewed on it that nothing is to be seen of the dark-blue background color (Colored Plate III, Nos. 1 and 3, also Colored Plate IV, No. 3).[3] Thus, on collar 1 of Colored Plate III red cretonne strips are sewed on, and these are embroidered with a central line of lilac silk. On the dark-blue stripe of uniform width thus produced, small white triangles are sewed. Collar pattern 1 of Colored Plate III is

1[see cat 116, PP 448, 449, 512, 240 - ANALYST]
2[" " " P 492 - "]
3[" " " PP 439, 563 - "]

/322 cont./

291 Moreover, I noticed on many occasions that women on a journey or engaged in heavy work in the fields wear long dark-blue trousers and the apron in front over them, instead of the wide, decorated pleated skirt.

The men's clothing of the Meau (Ill. 79,[1] also Colored Plate II, Nos. 3, 9, 12) consists of the jacket and trousers. The jacket of the men is collarless and closes on the left side (Colored Plate II, No. 9). The fastening attached at the [301] neck and under the left arm consists of a pewter or silver button and a small loop of red string. The red lacing at the side, /Colored Plate III appears here on an unnumbered page/ /323/ [531] (Colored Plate II, No. 12) to which several handsomely chased silver buttons are attached, serves only for decoration. This ornament is lacking on the workday jacket. The wide, straight sleeves are provided with a more or less wide cuff for the purpose of lengthening them if the need arises. The jacket hangs straight and open, but does not reach the navel, so that a strip of skin as wide as a hand is visible between the jacket and trousers (Ill. 107).[2]

The trousers, likewise dark blue (Colored Plate II, No. 3), fit tightly around the middle of the body and then hang down long to the ankles. The very baggy seat is sewed in separately [294] (Ill. 81).[3] In part to keep the trousers in place and in part for [531] decoration, a sash 250 centimeters long and usually made of [439] purchased red cretonne is wound around the middle of the body and tied at the side, producing a handsome impression.

The men, too, wear the turban. They use the long dark- [531] blue turban-cloth with embroidered ends that was described as the first cloth of the women's turban (Colored Plate III, No. 5). Only it is worn in a different way, and, to be sure, wrapped around the head more on the side in a twisted fashion (Ill. 77),[4] and not wound high, as is customary among the women. In- [177] stead of the turban, older men also wear small black Chinese 292 caps (Ills. 55 and 56).[5] On festive days, one also sees turbans made of purchased cretonne or silk.

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p706 - "]
3 [" " " p596 - "]
4 [" " " p575 - "]
5 [see cat 116, p367 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5
AKha A04

M 301 /326 cont./ Meau in Thailand (Ill. 57).[1] The dot of the question mark is formed by the button that holds the ornament in the hole in the ear lobe, while the curve hangs down to the chest (Figs. 219 and 220). The same author also saw ear pendants with a ring of jade among the Meau. These ear pendants are usually /Figs. 211-216 and 218-220 appear here/ /327/ purchased M [439] from the Yau /Yao/ or Chinese, but are also made by the Meau themselves, faithfully following the traditional model. Children often wear small silver bells in their ears.

Solid rings of silver, copper, or iron are worn around the ankles by both sexes (Figs. 221-223). /Figs. 217 and 221-227 appear here./

/328/ The finger rings that I saw among women, men, and children were mostly simple, open silver hoops, but one also frequently sees beautiful homemade ornamental rings (Figs. 224 and 225).

M [177] [413] [276] Among the various silver objects still to be mentioned here are the scratching pins (Fig. 226), probably of Chinese origin, which one comes across everywhere. They are worn tied to the belt, along with small bells and a needle for serving up opium.

A 291 [531] The clothing of the Akha maintains its characteristic note through the richness and the variety of the ornaments used. The patches, embroidery, and appendages of the articles of clothing and the body ornaments almost reach the limits of possibility, but nevertheless are used with so much taste that the clothing makes a thoroughly harmonious and very decorative impression (see Ills. 4 to 13 and Colored Plate I).[2] The basic elements, however, the dark-blue material and the cut, as well as the three-part division of the women's clothing into blouse, skirt, and leggings and the two-part division of the men's clothing into jacket and trousers, are the same as among the Meau and other mountain tribes of Farther India. The fabric is self-woven out of hemp or cotton and indigo (see the chapter, "Handicrafts") and even today is very seldom replaced by purchased goods. The clothing is sewed only by the women and apparently in abundant quantities, for among the Akha we never saw garments in use that were anywhere near as shabby or torn as among the Meau.

A [171] [286] [439] [294]

[1] [See Cat 116, p368 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " ", pp 13-14, 34-37 + 120 - ANALYST]

/342 cont./

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking firearms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical [123] knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For 224 example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 434 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [434] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable [434] if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [435] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/, because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great im- [595] portance. My informant had this to thank for being able to buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.

/358 cont./

249 2. Poppies. The Meau cultivate three different types, which are recognizable by the color of their flowers. Accordingly, one distinguishes white, red, and purple poppies. At the end of June they are sowed in soil which has been loosened with digging sticks. Tobacco, spinach-like vegetables, or [244] onions also grow in the poppy fields at the same time, which further increases the great importance of the poppy fields for the Meau. Six months after the sowing of the poppies the 249 making of opium begins. For this the nearly ripe poppy heads 276 are slit (Ill. 73)[1] with a three-bladed knife (chapter, "Food and Stimulants," Fig. 289). A whitish juice, the opium, oozes out and is carefully collected. After it has been properly ● [439] treated, it represents the most valuable article of trade of the Meau. After the opium harvest comes that of the now ripened 249 poppies, which are particularly valued as food on account of [262] their high oil content. Moreover, poppy fields, as was said, can be laid out on old, harvested maize fields, so that the least amount of land is required for their cultivation. If one adds to that the fact that mixed poppy fields remain productive for ten to twenty years, depending on the fertility of the soil, it may be said that they, next to the rice fields, certainly constitute the most important agricultural production area of the Meau.

3. Sugar Cane. Early in May the Meau set out six types, which ripen at different times. Furrows about 17 to 18 centimeters deep are made with the hoe (Figs. 269 and 270) 90 centimeters apart, and the shoots are set out with the help of a setting peg at uniform intervals of about 30 centimeters. At the earliest, harvesting commences eight months after the ensuing cultivation. These sugar-cane beds are productive for three years on the average and then lie fallow.

244 4. Yams. As soon as the cultivation of sugar cane is ended, four different types of this potato-like tuber is planted. For this purpose small pits are dug about 80 centimeters apart, the /359/ pieces of the seed tubers, cut up according to the bud-eyes, are put in, and the pit is covered. The harvest of the early ripening types begins as early as four months later.

1 [See Cat 116, p573 - ANALYST]

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand,
[184] so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water,
are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in
[351] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos,
[245] which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or
fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties
263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole
series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as
spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by
[317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the
[135] fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand
[171] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain
[439] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders
(see the chapter, "Trade")-and not obtained locally.

252 Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it,
[262] which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the
sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in
the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans
until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this pur-
pose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and
kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the
last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to
ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried
[251] in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks
where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods,
the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number
of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsuă) are made, three kinds of
which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes
nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked
and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar,
the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12
centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green
leaves and steamed.

/381 cont./

276 [439] [412] Furthermore, opium plays a very important role, both as a stimulant and remedy and as an article of trade (see the chapter, "Trade"). When the poppy fruits are almost ripe, they are slit with a special instrument, the poppy-slitting knife (Ill. 73 ½ and Fig. 289). This consists of three iron blades tied together. The three sharp points of the combined blades are used to slit the capsule, from which a gummy juice flows out. By the next morning it has hardened and is now collected in gourd bowls with a scraper (Fig. 290). This substance is then pressed into bamboo vessels and left for two or three days, whereupon it exudes water. Now it is kneaded and pounded in mortars and rolled into cylinders, which are wrapped in paper. [439] [435] This produces the raw opium, the /382/ /Figs. 289-298 appear here/ article of trade. For one pound the Meau receive 18 ticals from the Chinese traders; the traders then make a profit of many hundred times this amount.

In order to make the ardently desired stimulant from this raw product, it is boiled three times in water in special copper kettles (Fig. 291). For the first cooking, one adds water to the opium in the amount of ten times the weight and cooks it until the opium mixes with the water and forms a homogeneous substance. Then the liquid is filtered through a double layer of bamboo paper (Fig. 192). To the extract obtained, fresh water is added in the amount of 50 per cent of its quantity, the filtered residue is likewise mixed in, and the whole is boiled anew and filtered again. [439] The filtration residue is now thrown away, and the liquid obtained is boiled until it forms a viscous mass which, for trading, may be boiled down until it is quite hard.

The drug is swallowed with water by the Meau, as well as smoked in Chinese fashion, but not chewed. Older men usually eat some opium in the morning but smoke a pipe in the evening. For this purpose the proper amount is /383/ speared on a needle (Fig. 293), then heated over a small lamp (Figs. 294 and 295) until it becomes soft (Ill. 74), ½ and then stuck into the opium pipe (Fig. 296) which is smoked.

½ [See cat 116, p573- ANALYST]

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/387 cont./

411 177 In addition there are double-edged swords for close combat. They are like the spirit-swords in shape, are probably of Chinese origin, and are made longer or shorter in size according to the physical strength of the bearer. The spirit-swords [778] present today show a close relationship with Chinese elements, whereas we found only one old war-sword anymore (Fig. 305). [175] The old Chinese literature mentions curved swords (1); in this

1. Eberhard, II, p. 254.

connection my finding a ceremonial sword of bronze is of interest (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 55).

Today, the most important weapons of the Meau by far are the /388/ flintlock gun (Ill. 78, Fig. 306) and the crossbow (Figs. 316 and 317), which have pushed all other weapons into the background. Although originally the guns undoubtedly must have been of European origin, nevertheless, in the course of time the Meau [326] have developed a peculiar form of gun which they can manufacture themselves in every detail. They are even able to produce the • [439] barrels of their guns; to be sure, they buy the iron from Chinese traders. The firearms made with it are flintlock guns (Ill. 78 and Fig. 306), which are equipped with only a pistol grip. It

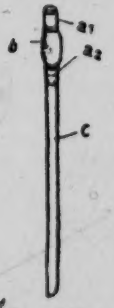

Fig. 305

Sword of the Meau, 1/15 nat. size.
a = brass mounting,
b = wooden grip,
c = blade.
The sword is stuck into a long, narrow wooden sheath.

is not easy to shoot with it. The recoil smashed the nasal bone of one of my porters who tried it. /Figs. 306-308 appear here./

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]

/389 cont./

411 loaded. One presses the whole down firmly with a plug of scraped bamboo and immediately before firing the shot lets two more of these lead cylinders serving as bullets slide loosely into the barrel. The shot is released by the lock which is [237] glued with beeswax to the pistol stock (a) and secured there with rings of iron or sheet silver (g). The cocked lock is shown in Fig. 307; the way it operates is explained by Fig. 308.

In shooting, the trigger (e) is pressed to the left. The pressure overcomes the force of the counterspring (a); the full cock (f) is released. As a result, the cocking spring (k) presses against the hammer (b), in the upper end of which a flint is clamped (b 1). The hammer flies forward; the flint hits the snap (c), which springs back and lays open the powder pan (Pf). The touchhole (z) runs into the powder pan and connects it with the interior of the barrel. Through the striking of the flint on the snap, a spark is produced which sets fire to the powder in the pan. The explosion instantly runs through the touchhole, ignites the propellant in the interior of the barrel, and the bullets are hurled out of the barrel (i).

It was astonishing for me to observe the relatively great efficiency. At a distance of 120 meters the marksman with each shot hit a target 20 centimeters long and 15 centimeters wide, piercing a board of soft wood two centimeters thick.

389 The Meau even produce for themselves the black powder for the guns, made out of charcoal, sulphur, and saltpeter. [237] Bat excrement serves to provide the latter. A bamboo tube is split into halves and /390/ /Figs. 309-314 appear here/ the overlapping pieces are put on the ground. The spaces in between are covered with banana leaves and the vessel is filled with old /Fig. 315 appears here/ bat excrement and with the earth that lay underneath it. Then water is poured on it, and the liquid is allowed to run off slowly, is collected in a suitable vessel, and is dried by evaporation in iron pans. To one part of the saltpeter thus obtained, one takes half a part of charcoal and a twelfth part of the sulphur purchased [439] from the Chinese traders, beats up the mixture with the addition of some water, and kneads it vigorously in order to obtain a uniform blend. This moist paste of powder is placed in an

/390 cont./

389 iron pan slightly warmed over an open fire, allowed to dry, and the now firm mass is pounded to powder with the help of a wooden peg (Fig. 315).

411 Since there are only a few armorers among the Meau and [324] the raw material for making guns must be obtained from the [439] Chinese trader, this weapon is not as generally /391/ widespread by far as the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93),[1] which the Meau are able to manage expertly.

The crossbow of the Meau is made very solidly out of hard wood and has the form shown in Fig. 317. It consists of a stock (a) with a guide groove (d) for the arrow, a bow of hardwood (b), and a recessed trigger (c) with a catch (e). The size of the crossbow varies and is regulated by the size and strength of the owner. The two most common kinds of trigger are represented by Figs. 316 and 318. The bowstring (f) con- [283] sists of rattan fibers twisted together. The cross-section of the arrow shaft (Fig. 319) is round and measures about four millimeters. The feathering, folded strips of bamboo ten to twelve millimeters wide, is clamped into the split part of the shaft and secured by a tight lashing. /Figs. 316-320 appear here./

[224] /392/ The accuracy of such a crossbow is only half as great as that of the gun, as is its penetrating power. Since the crossbow arrows (Figs. 319 and 320) are strongly poisoned, however, and in the primeval forest shooting is done only at short range, large game, indeed, even pachyderms, are killed with this weapon by the Meau.

Certain tribes must have used powerful crossbows in war. [175] The old Chinese literature, for instance, mentions crossbows which had to be cocked by three men. Poisoned arrows were shot with such crossbows (1). At that time mighty bows were

1. Eberhard, II, p. 259.

also still in use, which probably were superseded by the crossbow at a very early date.

1 [See cat 116, pp 576 + 643 - ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/406 cont./

322 Aside from the construction of houses and stables, wood
824 has /407/ an extraordinary number of uses. For example, tables, benches, stools (Ill. 107) and beds, the distillation apparatus for making alcohol, rice mills, rice steamers and pounders, the troughs for the pig fodder, and the pack saddles for the animals (Ill. 81) are made of it; furthermore the handles of tools and knives, sheaths for knives, spear shafts and the gun stocks, crossbows, bellows (Ill. 82), and musical instruments, such as the mouth organ, are produced from it; the altars (Ill. 99) are built out of it; it is likewise necessary for building wells,
[386] and, finally, dyestuff is also obtained from wood.

324 Since the Meau have long since left the Neolithic, stone
[412] tools are no longer in use, and since the immigration of the
[174] Meau into their present habitation area in northern Thailand took place only a few decades ago, I could no longer find any such material from their early history. On the other hand, even today the Meau work stone into grindstones (Ill. 94) or whetstones. Moreover, from a soft porous stone which they burn out before working, they make the crucibles (Fig. 365)
325 and casting molds (Ill. 82) for silver and copper, since they have a considerable knowledge of the use and working of metals. On the other hand, they are not in a position to obtain metals from ore, nor can they smelt wrought iron, but with the help of their bellows (Figs. 362-364) and a charcoal fire they know how to forge and weld it. They can smelt cast iron
• [439] which they obtain from broken pots and pans acquired from the Chinese traders. From this kind of iron, bullets and even implements, such as the shoe of the digging stick (Fig. 267) are molded. For this a mud mold is made of an implement for which one wants to make a new piece, and it now serves for the new casting. Casting by dead mold is unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

The forging equipment (Ill. 82) is of wood, iron, or stone and is entirely made by a Meau smith. It is:

1 [See cat 116, P706 - ANALYST]
2+3 [" " " P596 - "]
4 [" " " P664 - "]
5 [" " " P644 - "]

/409 cont./

325 [439] Iron is bought from Chinese traders, or from the Lao, Schan /Shan/, or Burmese, in the form customarily traded in northern Thailand, four-cornered, square bars four to five centimeters thick and 50 centimeters long. Silver, brass, copper, and lead also come from them. In order to obtain [177] silver, the Meau melt Chinese, Burmese, or Indochinese silver coins in the crucible (Fig. 365) of porous stone and pour the silver into the mold (Figs. 369 and 370) which was previously lined with cloth so that the molten metal will not stick to the walls. The silver coins are crushed before they are

Figs. 362-372. Forging Equipment of the Meau.

Fig. 362. Bellows, 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 363. Piston of the bellows. Fig. 364. End of the pipe. Fig. 365. Smelting pot of stone, 1/6 nat. size. Figs. 366-367. Anvils, 1/35 [285] nat. size. Fig. 368. Annealing basket, 1/25 nat. size. [415] Fig. 369. Casting mold, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 370. Casting mold in use. Fig. 371. Sledge hammer, 1/6 nat. size. [413] Fig. 372. Blacksmith's tongs, 1/6 nat. size.

/409 cont./

325 put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants.
[413] In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure,
[171] for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other mountain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased work.

/410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that
[177] came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for
[439] silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
[414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails
[531] or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

39: Bernatzik--568 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly
[465] paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

/424 cont./

439 has already been mentioned, obtain iron, metal pots and pans, flints, matches, sulphur needed for the making of gunpowder, salt, insofar as it is not purchased directly from the neighboring valley peoples, cowrie shells, buttons, cretonne, silk, small mirrors, thread, needles, and embroidery thread. Unfortunately, these traders also bring in fabrics whose importation is superfluous. Moreover, they sell the coveted magic articles and amulets and deal in children for adoption, or even women.

The traders make a profit of several hundredfold, since, [435] besides their not very pronounced commercial talent, the Meau lack the connection with the rest of the world needed for a proper evaluation of the worth of their wares.

Business with the traders, who scrupulously seek out vil- [487] lage after village, takes place during the dry season, since the mountain paths are impassable in the rainy season. A trade journey of the Haw therefore takes months. The wares desired by the Meau are carried by porters and pack animals up and down through the mountainous terrain and through the virgin 437 forests. Barter, formerly the only type of trade, is still widely 439 practiced. In the first place there is the raw opium of the Meau, and then stags' horns, the horns of the rhinoceros, and irovy. Rattan lianas, finished baskets, and field produce also serve as articles for barter, primarily the latter because the many porters of the traders need food.

436 Besides the traditional barter goods, a means of payment 437 used today is a range of kinds of money, and, to be sure, from those countries that have been traversed by the Meau. For the most part, the coins in circulation are those which officially represent the currency of the country in which the Meau happen to be living. Thus, in Burmese territory rupees are principally used, in Thailand ticals, in Indochina piasters, on Chinese territory the current Chinese standard; interestingly enough, besides these kinds of money, Russian coins are said to have been in circulation among the Meau in former times.

/424 cont./

437 There are no articles that can only be bought with money
439 or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead. just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern
[443] Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in
[184] Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

[184] As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and
439 Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among
114 the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
[325] sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plow-
[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and
[323] finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I [114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern [326] Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no [323] knowledge of pottery!

[184] The author continues his observations with a desctiption of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to barte[illegible]g for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a [314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these [314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All [596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure [294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire... [286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/426 cont./

M 437 ●439 Besides the types of trade mentioned, there is among the Meau in northern Thailand also barter to a limited extent with the Phi Tong Luang, or Yumbri, as these proto-Mongoloid forest nomads call themselves (see Bernatzik, IV (3)). The

3. Page 116.

Meau have provided them with plaiting, especially the very laboriously made rattan mats and solid standing-baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 327); in the barter trade one large pig is given for five of these mats or baskets a smaller one for one or two. For rattan, honey, wax, and sometimes also for firewood, usually field products, sometimes meat, worn clothing or knives, and less frequently spears, opium, or alcohol are given.

A 439 [421] [596] In the trade of the Akha a few differences in comparison with that of the Meau result merely from the fact that the concept of personal property is drawn more narrowly than among the Meau. Even among sib members the head of the family plays the decisive role and must consent to every major trade transaction.

As among the Meau, among the Akha, too, everything to cover the needs of life is made within the family, although extras are obtained from the migratory traders, insofar as they cannot be acquired through closer trade connections with the valley peoples, primarily the Schan /Shan/. The latter hold markets at which the Akha sell opium, cotton, pepper, pigs, and forest products, such as honey /Ills. 73-79 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /427/ and the wax of wild bees, and the like, and in exchange buy salt, betel pepper, and in more recent times silver ornaments, for, next to the Lisu, the Akha are among the richest of the mountain tribes.

A [231] A principal article of trade of the Akha is raw cotton (Ill. 32),[1] in addition to which, in regions that are suitable for it, they breed buffaloes exclusively for sale to the Lao (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry"). Also, as among the Meau, the sturdy standing-baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 386) represent an important article of trade. Nevertheless, trade with the Lao, whose stores in the

[1] [see cat. 116, P250 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on P. 599]

AKha A04
Mias AE5

/428 cont./

M 804 As for linear measures, the Meau are familiar with the fathom, ǐtlǎ̋n, which extends from the tip of the middle finger of an outstretched hand to the same one on the other hand. The span of the Meau, nǎ klō, is the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the outstretched index finger. The ell, from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, is called ǐ tsḛ̌; another linear measure, the distance from the tip of the middle finger to the middle of the body, is called ǐ tsḛ̌ tlǎ̋n. Finally, the Meau have the linear measure of a foot, tḛ̄ŭ, and the pace, kǒ̋ tǫ̆̄ă.

A 804 Of the linear measures of the Akha, I was able to ascertain the following: The fathom, called tǐnŭ̋m, corresponds to the one of the Meau. The span, tǐtǭ, differing from the span of the Meau, extends from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger of the outstretched hand. The ell, called tǐtĭă̋, is the same as that of the Meau.

A M 804 As a dry measure for measuring maize, rice, and the like, the Meau use a round calabash, which is called ĭă̋; ten ĭă̋ are a basket, tḛ̆ŭ; ten baskets, a tā̋n, correspond to about 68 kilograms. The Akha, on the other hand, have only a sort of measuring basket which they call gă̋pū.

M 804 [439] Liquids are measured by the Meau in bottles which they buy from the Chinese. Small bottles holding about half a liter are called ǐy kī; two small bottles amount to one big one, which is called aŭ kī.

A 804 [439] The Akha likewise measure by bottles, which they buy from the Lao or Schan /Shan/. Among the Akha, the small ones are called mḛ̆tsă̋, among the Lao hā̋ hŏ̋y. Among them, too, two small ones amount to one large bottle, which is called tĭhă̋ by the Akha, kŭ̋ŏ̋t by the Lao.

/464 cont./

152 556 The Meau are not greedy. In spite of their hard life, money and property play a less important role than the lives of human beings. In reply to my question, "If your house were on fire, what would you save first?" I repeatedly received the answer from the Negro peoples, and from the Akha, too, for that matter: "My money" or "My ornaments." The Meau, on the other hand, said without thinking twice: "First the people, and last of all the cash."

439 435 The behavior of the Meau who accompanied me into the valleys was interesting. As a people with little talent for business, and in addition without any opportunity to compare the prices which are offered or demanded of them by the migratory traders who seek out their villages, they now saw in the valley cities the same commodities offered at prices which amounted to only a fraction of those that they were accustomed to paying the traders. Nevertheless, no buying mania seized the Meau. They bought only articles that they had carefully considered beforehand, especially yam, copper kettles, blue cloth for making men's clothing, and, in only one case, under the first impact of the uprooting, a Japanese man's shirt. When they thought that they had covered their needs, the rest of their money was carefully put away, and they immediately decided to acquire wives for their sons with it in their homeland.

574 [123] It was obvious to us that we owed them, whose hospitality we had enjoyed in the mountains, maintenance during these days. For every handful of rice they repeatedly thanked us, though they /465/ must have regarded our hospitality as a matter of course. No wanderer, even a stranger to the tribe, will ask in vain for lodging or food in a Meau village. The Nordic proverb, "Nobody roams through Lappland's mountains without being hungry," could be exactly reversed: "Everybody roams through the forested mountains of the Meau well fed." To be sure, for the European it should be added that for our taste the food of the Lapps, for example, salted coffee with cut-up reindeer cheese or dried raw reindeer meat and the like, is not particularly agreeable or to our taste, whereas the food of the Meau is often not only tasty, but altogether wholesome.

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.